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Increasing Women's Participation in the Primary School Teaching Force and Teacher Training in Nepal

Molly Maguire Teas

Recruiting and training more women in primary education requires more effective communication and more effort to provide culturally acceptable travel to and accommodations near training centers

This paper — a product of the Population and Human Resources Operations Division, Country Department I, South Asia — is part of a larger effort in the Region to increase equity for women in education. The study was funded by the Bank's Research Support Budget under research project "Increasing Educational Equity for Women in Nepal" (RPO 676-98). Copies of this paper are available free from the World Bank, 1818 H Street NW, Washington, DC 20433. Please contact Lydia Maningas, room D9-015, extension 80380 (July 1993, 59 pages).

Although research shows that Nepalese parents prefer sending girls to schools with female teachers, only 12.8 percent of Nepalese primary school teachers are women. Nepal has among the lowest enrollment and retention rates for girls in the world. One strategy to correct the situation is to increase the number of women who become and remain teachers. But teacher training is also important; 60 percent of Nepalese teachers are untrained, so the quality of education is poor — often rote memorization, with the teacher simply reading textbooks aloud.

Teas tried to find out what factors affect Nepali women's decision to join the primary school teaching force and to participate in in-service teacher training. Prior studies, using large survey methods, did not provide the information program planners needed. The author chose a research strategy more appropriate to the Nepali culture by combining quantitative and qualitative methods.

Teas focused on the participation of women in the primary teaching force and on two in-service teacher training projects: the Primary Education Project (PEP) and the Radio Education Teacher training Project (RETT). In the PEP, teachers from 10 to 15 primary schools receive in-service training in short sessions at a resource center. They get roughly a dollar a day to cover their food and lodging costs. The RETT provides in-service training to primary teachers through daily radio broadcasts, plus written assignments and monthly meetings in resource centers. Gender disaggregated information on the

RETT and the PEP programs had never been collected. The author hypothesized that female teachers' needs are different from those of their male counterparts and this would reflect in differential participation rates. Among Teas's conclusions:

- Women are more likely to be recruited as teachers or into training programs if information about positions and programs is made available to them in a timely, accessible way. To do this, extension agents could be hired to bring information from the ministry or program to intended beneficiaries. Teaching positions and training programs could be advertised in short radio messages and in letters to primary school principals.
- Women are less likely to get training if the resource center is inaccessible. To counter disincentives for women to travel away from their homes and villages, culturally acceptable travel companions, lodging, and childcare should be provided.
- The current broadcast time for radio training conflicted with women's household responsibilities. Changing the time to later in the evening would increase female participation in the program.
- Women often lacked family support to become teachers or to become trained. To increase such support, existing incentives (including allowances and salary increases) should be publicized.

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Abbreviations

BPEP: Basic and Primary Education Project

GON: Government of Nepal

MOEC: Ministry of Education and Culture

PEP: Primary Education Project

RC: Resource Center

RP: Resource Person

RETT: Radio Education Teacher Training

SETI: Seti: Rural Development Project

SLC: School Leaving Certificate

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose of the Study

Review of evidence from Nepal indicates a critical need for an increase in the number of female primary school teachers and women teachers who receive in-service teacher training. Increasing the number of Nepali women in primary school teaching and in-service training is important for three reasons:

1. Only 12.8 percent of Nepalese primary school teachers are women. This number is not proportionate to the supply of qualified females in the country. Improving equity in the labor force is critical for reasons of equality and for the development of Nepal.
2. Research shows that Nepalese parents prefer sending girls to schools where there are female teachers. Since Nepal has among the lowest enrollment and retention rates for females in the world, strategies to increase the supply and retention of women teachers would have the critical effect of helping to increase girls' enrollment and retention in Nepali primary schools.
3. School quality is extremely low in Nepal; in 1990, 60 percent of Nepalese teachers were untrained. Research shows that teacher training is one of the most effective ways to improve school quality. Thus, increasing the recruitment and retention rates of women teachers in in-service training would help improve school quality.

Despite the clear need for more women teachers and for better trained women teachers, program planners lack systematic knowledge about how to recruit more women into teaching and in-service training. The possibility that women teachers' needs may differ from those of their male counterparts has not been taken into account in recent research. In addition, much of the recent research that might be of use to program planners has been conducted using large-scale survey methods, which have been criticized as not providing the information planners need. For instance, Campbell et al (1979) found that surveys conducted in Nepal resulted in a large degree of non-sampling error. They recommend instead the use of "culturally, sociolinguistically, and epistemologically appropriate methods...such as unstructured interviewing, participant observation, and the use of written documents and case studies." This study was designed to meet the need for systematic information about women teachers in Nepal, using research methods that are more appropriate to the Nepali culture.

This study examined factors that affect Nepali women's participation in the primary school teaching force and in teacher training programs. It had four principal objectives:

- Identify key factors that affect Nepali women's participation in the primary school teaching force and in two major in-service teacher training programs: the Radio Education Teacher Training (RETT) program, and the Primary Education Project (PEP).

- Propose interventions to increase the recruitment and retention of women in the primary school teaching force and in the RETT and PEP programs.
- Design and use a culturally appropriate research method to investigate issues related to women and education that could be used in any country of the world, and which would result in sound analytical conclusions useful in developing policy recommendations.
- Provide information which may be of use to other programs where gender equity is sought such as: (1) other Nepali teacher training programs; (2) other sectors in Nepal such as health and agriculture; and (3) programs in other countries with problems similar to those in Nepal.

B. Structure of this Paper

Sections I and II provide a context for the study. Section I briefly describes Nepal's education system and the role of donor organizations in in-service teacher training. Section II reviews three bodies of research on developing countries relevant to the study: teacher training, distance education, and women in education. Section III describes the methods used to conduct the study and the findings are detailed in Section IV. Section V summarizes the study's findings and recommends research and policy initiatives.

C. Education in Nepal: The Problem

Education in Nepal is characterized by low school quality, a lack of educational equity for girls, and a lack of trained women teachers. In addition, women's participation in the teaching force is highly constrained by cultural assumptions about women's role in Nepali society.

Low School Quality

The primary educational objective during the past thirty years in Nepal has been to expand the educational system. Significant progress in increasing enrollment rates has been achieved, however, the quality of education has remained poor.¹

The most widely used teaching methodology in Nepal is rote memorization and in most of the 15,834 primary schools, teachers teach by simply reading the textbook out loud. Lessons have little relationship to student's daily lives and students are rarely if ever asked to think for themselves. The great majority of teachers do not have access to training or professional support systems which results in low professional standards and poor teacher morale and attendance.

Lack of Educational Equity for Girls

While both males and females in Nepal are faced with a poor quality educational system, girls and women appear to benefit the least from it. This is evidenced by a literacy rate for females of 18 percent and for males of 51.8 percent. In addition, girls' enrollment in schools is far below that of boys at all education levels. Of the 2,526,000 primary students in 1989, only 34.65 percent were girls. Enrollment disparities between boys and girls increased at higher levels of education.²

Female participation in the teaching force is low but increasing. The total number of primary teachers increased by 24 percent from 1988 to 1990 and during the same time period, the number of female primary teachers increased by 49 percent. The growth in the number of female teachers is related to increases in the number of girls passing secondary school and government efforts to increase the numbers of female teachers. The increase should be interpreted carefully, however, because while the total percentage of female teachers had increased faster than that for males, the baseline number of female teachers was much lower for females than for males.

Data show a great increase in the number of girls in the secondary school system and passing the School Leaving Certificate (SLC) examination³, but there is not a proportionate number of women hired to teach in schools. An analysis of Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) data from the years 1988 to 1990 indicates that the percentage of primary teachers who are women increased by only 2 percent, from only 10.8 percent to 12.8 percent, while the percentage of teaching jobs filled increased by 23 percent (see Table I). The percentage of female teachers has not increased in proportion to the increase in the total number of teachers.

The low number of women employed in primary schools is often attributed to the belief that there are not enough SLC-pass women available or that SLC-pass women do not want to teach. SLC data from the national exam shows that the first argument may have been valid in the past but not in recent years. In 1988, for example, the number of girls who passed the SLC exam was only 3,899. In 1990, however, the number was 11,713 - a 200 percent increase. Clearly, all of the girls who pass the SLC exam are not going to want to be teachers, but given that teaching is one of the few occupations outside the home open to women in Nepal, and in rural areas it is usually the only one, many of these girls are probably interested in teaching.

Table I
SUPPLY OF SLC PASS FEMALES

	Tot.Primary Teachers	Tot.Female Primary Teachers	Tot.Female SLC Pass
1988	57,204	6,169	3,899
1990	71,213	9,181	11,713

Source: MOEC Statistical Yearbooks 1988 & 1990

The Need for Trained Women Teachers

The economic and societal benefits to Nepal of educating girls and women have been well documented by research. Evidence shows that more girls are likely to attend primary schools in Nepal if there are female teachers in school (UNICEF, 1978). In addition, this study found that parents are more comfortable sending their girls to schools with female teachers. Another study by Shrestha et.al. (1986, p.516) found that the presence of female teachers was one of five significant school-related predictors of educational participation of both boys and girls in Nepali schools.⁴

The Lives of Women in Nepal

Nepali women fulfill multiple roles that make it difficult to take advantage of professional opportunities outside of the home when they do exist. An important role women fill in Nepal is that of provider. The amount of work Nepali women do, especially household and farm work, to help provide for their families is often underestimated and undervalued in strictly economic terms. For example, women contribute 22 percent to household monetary income, but when non-marketed subsistence production is included, their contributions rise to 53 percent (UNDP, 1990, p.32). According to another study women's overall work burden was 44 percent higher than men's when "domestic activities," economic activities, and "expanded economic activities" were taken into account (Acharya and Bennett, 1981, p.306).

Maternal and gender roles of Nepali women require them to perform the great bulk of household chores, child care, and daily religious rites. Despite their responsibility for these important social functions, women are ironically seen as needing the protection of men, according to the dominantly Hindu values of the country. The belief that women need protection often ties them to the home and village. Furthermore, the social role of Hindu women in Nepal is closely tied to the caste status of their families and is reinforced by the symbolic roles women play in Hinduism, which emphasizes beauty, purity, faithfulness and selfless motherhood. Thus, due to existing cultural beliefs and practices, Nepali women face significant barriers to acquiring and retaining positions in the paid professional labor force.

D. The Role of Donor Organizations in In-service Teacher Training in Nepal

In the past, the Government of Nepal (GON) and donors have concentrated their efforts in the education sector on expanding the school infrastructure. One result has been a large unmet demand for trained teachers. To reduce the backlog of untrained serving teachers, the GON, with assistance from the International Development Association (IDA), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and other donors, has implemented several in-service teacher training projects. The most ambitious of these have been the Primary Education Project (PEP), SETI: Education for Rural Development Project, and the Radio Education Teacher Training Project (RETT), financed by IDA and UNICEF, UNICEF and UNDP and USAID respectively. This study focussed on the PEP and RETT projects. A summary of the essential features of PEP and RETT can be seen in Table II below.

Table II
SUMMARY OF RETT & PEP PROGRAMS

PROGRAM	DURATION/ LOCATION	CRITERIA FOR SELECTION	CONTENT	MODALITY
RETT	10 months 6 districts	Permanent in-service teacher	150 hour	radio + sims + RC
PEP	3 sessions: 10+10+12 day 6 districts	Permanent in-service teacher	150 hour	face-to- face at RCs
SIMS: Printed Self-Instructional Materials				
RC: Resource Center				

The Primary Education Project (PEP)

PEP was implemented in six districts of Nepal from 1984 to 1992⁵ (see Annex A for map of PEP and RETT districts). The PEP teacher training model is based on clusters of approximately ten to fifteen primary schools. Each cluster has an Resource Center (RC) where a Resource Person (RP) is based. RPs are trained centrally and supervised by field coordinators (FCs) who are based in district centers.

A goal of the PEP project is to train all in-service teachers within project areas. Teacher training takes place during three, ten to twelve day sessions at the RC and teachers receive a thirty rupee (less than one US dollar) training allowance for each day they attend training.

The Basic and Primary Education Project (BPEP), a seven year project to be implemented beginning June, 1992, will build upon the experiences and lessons of PEP to address primary school quality and efficiency issues. As

part of the project, the in-service teacher training component will be expanded on a phased basis to cover all 75 districts of Nepal. Areas of special BPEP concern include giving priority to the recruitment of female primary school teachers, restructuring data collection methods to assure that essential gender related statistics are collected and analyzing and eliminating various forms of discrimination in the education system.

The curriculum of the PEP and RETT teacher training programs was established by the MOEC. It covers basic knowledge and practical skills and requires a minimum of 150 hours to complete. Both programs satisfy the 150 hour training guidelines and award official certificates to program graduates thus making the teachers eligible for a salary increase of 45 rupees per month (approximately US\$1.00).⁹

Quantitative performance indicators prepared by the PEP Evaluation Unit indicate that of the 3,441 teachers targeted for receiving the three phase training between 1984 and 1990, first phase sessions were over-enrolled⁷ (4,038), second sessions were also over-enrolled (3780) and the third sessions were under-enrolled (1633) (PEP, 1990, p.11). The project did not disaggregate the data by gender.⁸ PEP 150 hour training unit costs are approximately 1678 rupees (US \$37.00) per trainee (MOEC Master Plan, 1991, p.73).⁹

The Radio Education Teacher Training Project (RETT)

RETT has been in operation in Nepal in six to nine¹⁰ non-PEP districts since 1978 and provides in-service training to primary school teachers through daily radio broadcasts combined with written assignments and monthly meetings in RETT-operated RCs. Participants listen to broadcasts in their homes from 5:30 to 5:00 p.m. six evenings per week for a ten month period. Radios are provided to participants on a cost basis by the RETT project and are payable in installments. The program also includes Self-Instructional Materials (SIMs), a set of printed guidebooks, to be completed by participating teachers at home. RETT charges no tuition, materials are provided free of cost, and no special allowances are provided to participants.¹¹

RETT enrollment records were obtained for the period 1988 to 1989 and analyzed to determine differential recruitment, pass, drop-out and fail rates for male and female participants. The data indicates that 7.8 percent of the total number of RETT participants were women (compared to the national figure for female teachers of 12.8 percent). Dropout was 7 percent higher for women than for men while fail rates for men and women were approximately the same (see below). Program unit costs are 1553 rupees per trainee assuming there are 3,000 students enrolled in the program.¹²

Summary

While both males and females in Nepal are faced with a poor quality education system, girls and women appear to benefit the least from it. Girls' literacy and enrolment figures are lower than those for boys and disparities increase at higher levels of the system. These gender inequities are reflected in the primary teaching force where, despite increases in recent years, only

12.8 percent of primary teachers are female. Most of these teachers, as is the case with male teachers, have not participated in any type of teacher training.

Two of the most ambitious projects begun by the GON and donor agencies to increase the number of trained primary school teachers are the PEP and RETT projects. In addition to provision of training, the PEP project also aims to increase recruitment of female teachers. This study found that the number of female participants in RETT was lower than the national average. It was not possible to determine female participation in PEP training because enrolment records in this project were not disaggregated by gender. In addition, preliminary investigations revealed that neither project had built-in provisions to: 1) analyze differential enrolment and participation patterns between men and women, or 2) build in special provisions or incentives to encourage women's participation in the projects.

II. SUMMARY OF RELEVANT RESEARCH

The study was designed to build on existing knowledge about developing countries in three areas: teacher training, distance education, and women in education. The following review of this research is not intended to be comprehensive, but to present the major trends in the literature.

A. Research on Teacher Training in Developing Countries

There appear to be four major areas of inquiry within the teacher training research in developing countries: (1) Production-function studies that focus on the relationships between inputs such as teacher qualifications and training (alongside complementary variables) and outcomes such as student achievement (e.g. Alexander & Simmons, 1975; Avalos & Haddad, 1981; Heyneman & Loxley, 1983; Husen, Saha & Noonan, 1978; Schiefelbein & Simmons, 1979; Simmons & Alexander, 1980); (2) Studies that focus on the relationships between particular methods of training such as microteaching and teacher characteristics such as skills and knowledge (e.g. Avalos, 1981; Avalos, 1985; Chapman, 1989; Nauman, 1990); (3) Research which investigates teacher characteristics and student outcomes (e.g. Bello, 1978; Boothroyd & Chapman, 1988; Ipaye, 1976; Rugh, 1989); and, (4) Research that examines factors that support or constrain the effective implementation of teacher training programs (e.g. Khan, 1977; Senior, 1984; Verspoor, 1989).

An analysis of this literature reveals several elements that may be incorporated into future programs to improve the level of participation, knowledge, skills, motivation and attitudes of teacher trainees. For instance, training that is accessible; in-service training; programming that includes community members, principals and supervisors; training that is relevant to teacher's needs; and training that includes support and motivational strategies for teachers.

Absent from this literature, however, is research on the effects of incentives on training participation or completion of training, the relationships between particular teacher training methods and student outcomes, effects of teacher training programs over time, the effect of context on teacher participation and completion. Also missing are studies that identify the special needs of subgroups, such as women, in training. These gaps in the literature suggest the need for research on factors affecting training recruitment and completion and on the needs of women trainees.

B. Research on Distance Education in Developing Countries

Distance education has been defined by Perraton (1982, p.4) as "an educational process in which a significant proportion of the teaching is conducted by someone removed in space and/or time from the learner." Research on distance education tends to fall into three major areas of inquiry: (1) Studies based on a production-function model that measure the impact of a particular program on student achievement or attitudes (e.g. Chu & Shramm, 1967; CSTEEP, 1986; Friend, Searles & Suppes, 1980; RLP, 1989; Yeoh, 1983);

(2) Studies that compare the effectiveness of different technologies on achievement (e.g. CSTEED, 1986); and, (3) Studies that utilize an economic perspective to analyze program costs (e.g. Anzalone, 1986; Coldevin, 1988; Jamison, Kells & Wells, 1978; Schramm, 1973; Taylor, 1983).

The research shows that in most developing countries, educational radio and correspondence programs satisfy more criteria for success than other technology options (such as television, computers or videos). Success criteria are: affordability, feasibility, accessibility, cost and impact on student achievement.

The research also indicates that program quality is key to program effectiveness. No matter how well planned, inexpensive or accessible a program is, it is likely to be a failure if it is boring or not perceived to be useful to participants.

Gaps in the distance education literature include studies on program process, the effects of context on program outcomes and the differential participation rates over time of audience sub-groups such as women.

The emphasis on technical, program factors in the literature suggests an assumption among many researchers and planners that programs will reach target audiences in an equitable manner as long as the program meets high broadcasting and/or curriculum standards and is affordable. Unfortunately, this assumption is contradicted by the high failure rate of dissemination schemes for distance education programs in many developing countries.

The premise of this study is that distance education has the potential to reach students in an equitable way and to contribute to their learning, but that the existence of an excellently crafted, affordable program will not ensure participation. Unless program plans take into account the special needs of traditionally disadvantaged groups such as women, the reproduction of existing inequitable conditions in educational systems is likely to continue.

C. Research on Women and Education in Developing Countries

Research on women and education in developing countries generally falls into one of four categories: (1) A history or description of women and education in various countries; (2) Studies that treat education as a dependent variable; (3) Studies where education is an independent variable; and (4) Studies that look at the educational process itself. Research in the first group of studies (e.g. Goldstein, 1972; Naik, 1975; Silliman, 1985) generally describe the situation of women and schooling in a particular country and identify patterns of educational change. The second group of studies (e.g. CERID/WEI, 1984; Chamie, 1983; Jones, 1982; Shrestha, 1986; Safilos-Rothschild, 1979) focus on describing factors that affect women's access to education in various countries. In the third group of studies on outcomes of education the theoretical perspectives of the researchers range from the human capital approach (e.g. Angulo & De Rodriguez, 1978; Fong, 1978; Sheehan, 1978), to anthropological and sociological perspectives (e.g. Cochrane, 1979; Levine, 1980). The process of education and how it impacts on

women's participation in the system is the focus of many studies such as those that challenge the idea of gender neutral schools and how curricula can reinforce gender stereotypes (e.g. Kalia, 1982; Masemann, 1974; Nischol, 1976).

Some generalizations may be drawn from the research cited above. The number of women of different ages who are being educated at all levels in developing countries has increased greatly in the past twenty years. However, while countries, particularly in Latin America, have nearly reached gender parity in terms of enrollments, Nepal lags far behind in these measures. Research on educational outcomes for women shows that women's education results in many benefits--increased earnings and productivity, lower rates of fertility, improved family health and better maternal practices. Thus women's access to education is critical to the health and well-being of women, their families, and their society.

Factors identified that contribute towards girls' inequitable access to education include the following: poverty, proximity of school to students' homes, school schedule and relevance of curriculum, teacher gender, values and attitudes towards the role of women, job availability upon graduation and the existence of equitable pay scales for work upon graduation.

Much of this research results in lists of factors related to women and girls' participation in education. However, the underlying causes of the situation are often not identified or discussed. This leaves policy-makers uncertain as to which factors can be changed to increase women and girls' access to education and training. Thus, research that identifies underlying causes and contextual elements that result in inequity are needed.

III. DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY

A. Research Questions

This study was designed to address some of the gaps in previous research summarized above. The specific questions addressed by the research are as follows:

- What are the factors related to Nepali women's decisions to become teachers and to attend and complete the PEP and RETT teacher training programs?
- Of the factors identified, how are they related, and which are related to specific program policy? How can women's participation in the teaching force and the PEP and RETT programs be increased?

B. Approach and Methodology

This study used qualitative methods to investigate the research questions. This was due to unavailability of data on the supply of female teachers that would have made a quantitative approach feasible, as well as evidence that qualitative methods are necessary in Nepal in order to avoid a high degree of non-sampling error (see Campbell, 1979). Furthermore, the lack of testable theory explaining women's participation in training programs required an approach that would allow the generation and testing of theory. In-depth information was needed on the processes through which outcomes occur, the perspectives of women teachers, and the complex dynamics of their lives.¹³ All of these reasons pointed to qualitative research methods as the most appropriate approach to answer the questions posed in this study.

Data collection instruments were used to obtain information on four major dimensions of women's and men's lives: economic, educational, cultural and social. Baseline census data was gathered at five levels: individual, family, school, district and national. This information was supplemented with data collected through unstructured interviews, participant observation and in-depth case studies of a subsample of interviewees.

Research Strategy

The six month study was divided into three phases: (1) Reconnaissance trips to villages in three geographical regions of Nepal to gather baseline data; (2) Analysis of initial data and selection of cases for follow-up; (3) Conducting in-depth case studies of women at selected sites.

During phase one, initial reconnaissance trips were used to gather as wide a range and variety of baseline data as possible in order to avoid bias. As interviews were collected, patterns in responses were noted, preliminary categories of factors were identified that appeared to explain why women's participation in the teaching force and in-service training, and interview guides were refined.¹⁴ In all, eighty-seven women were interviewed

during the reconnaissance phase in seven of the seventy-five districts of Nepal (including the central, mid-western hills and western terai regions¹⁵).

Analysis of this initial data and selection of cases were completed in phase two. Interviews collected during phase one were transcribed and analyzed. Then, a theoretical sample (Strauss, 1990) of thirty-five women who appeared to represent the trends and categories in the data were selected. From this set, a smaller group of eighteen women were chosen for in-depth case study. The smaller number of cases was selected due to budget and time constraints.

To maximize the number and variation among respondents while maintaining reliability¹⁶, women from a variety of ethnic, religious and geographic backgrounds were selected for interviews within the following seven categories:

1. Women who have passed the RETT program;
2. Women who have failed the RETT program;
3. Women who have dropped out of RETT;
4. Female untrained primary school teachers who live in RETT districts;
5. Women who have passed the PEP training program;
6. Female untrained primary school teachers who live in PEP districts.
7. Unemployed School Leaving Certificate (SLC) pass women.

During phase three eleven case studies were eventually completed. The researcher stayed with each woman and her family for a minimum of two days, including at least one overnight stay. Thus much contextual information about the conditions of each woman's life was gathered. In addition to the sample of eleven women, twenty-nine other respondents, the majority of them men, were interviewed for additional background information and as a check on the women's perspectives. These people included heads of households, as well as a principals, District Education Inspectors (DEIs) and Ministry of Education and Culture officials.

Research Instruments

Research instruments were developed before the study began and tested in the field.¹⁷ As unanticipated questions and issues arose, they were built into the research and reflected in instrument modifications. Logistical constraints did not allow for modified questionnaires to be used with respondents already interviewed. The technique did, however, allow for the investigation of several critical issues that did not become apparent until after the research had begun.

Study Validity

Data gathered from interviews with women teachers were triangulated with data from background interviews, with information gathered from participant observation, and with documents in order to test their validity. As much as possible, concepts and categories used to analyze the data and draw conclusions were grounded in the language of the people studied so as to

validly reflect their perspective. While qualitative research is not usually designed to produce findings that would be generalizable to some wider population, this study has developed theory to make sense of the findings that may be useful in understanding some similar situations. Of course, this theory would benefit from a follow-up study to check its accuracy and generalizability to wider populations.

C. Description of the Sample

Subsamples

Of the phase one sample of eighty-seven interviews, the number of PEP pass respondents was twenty-one, the number of RETT pass respondents was eighteen,¹⁸ eight respondents were dropouts and six had failed RETT training. PEP dropouts or women who had failed¹⁹ PEP training were not identified.

The untrained subsample consisted of eight women from PEP districts and eight women from RETT districts. These respondents were selected from the same areas as trained respondents. Fifteen unemployed School Leaving Certificate (SLC) pass women were also interviewed. Three additional respondents were: a woman who took the RETT course and exam but had not yet received her evaluation, and two women who had participated in a residential pre-service program run by UNICEF.

Of the twenty-nine respondents interviewed for background information in phase three, five were District Education Inspectors from districts where women's samples were drawn, four were principals from schools where women were interviewed, one was a supervisor based in a district education office, three were MOEC officials and three were individuals who worked with the Voluntary Service Overseas organization. These respondents were assigned to work with the PEP project in the field. Also interviewed were thirteen family members of female respondents including: three husbands, five mothers, one father, two fathers-in-law and two mothers-in-law.

Individual Characteristics

The average age of the women interviewed was twenty-seven; the youngest respondent was seventeen and the oldest, forty-one. On average, employed respondents had been teaching for six years. Seventy per cent (N:61) of the female respondents were married--14.75 percent (N:9) of them one of two wives--and 30 percent of the total (N:26) were single. Eighty-nine per cent (N:77) of the female respondents were Hindu, 10 percent (N:9) were Buddhist and one was Muslim.

Ten percent (N:9) of the respondents belonged to hill tribes including Gurung, Magar and Tharu. National census statistics disaggregated by ethnicity were not available for comparison with the sample.²⁰ The remainder of the female respondents belonged to non-hill tribe groups. The largest group was Brahmin, comprising 44 percent (N:38) of the sample, Chettries comprised 10 percent (N:9), one was vaishya and one was from the goldsmith caste. The remaining 31 percent of the sample (N:27) were Newars

from high, middle and low Newari caste groups. Finally, one respondent was Muslim.

The sample includes diversity in geographic location - 39 percent per cent of the female respondents (N:34) lived in rural or semi-rural areas and 61 percent lived in urban areas.²¹ The sample reflects the population distribution of the country as a whole. Approximately one third of the Nepalese population lives in areas in the hills and mountains inaccessible by road (The World Bank, 1991, p.23), however, data indicating the distribution of female teachers in the country was not available so it is not known if the sample reflects the distribution of female teachers in the country.

The percentage of female respondents who had one or more literate parents is shown in the table below²².

Table III
PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WITH AT LEAST ONE LITERATE PARENT

<u>RETT DISTRICTS</u>			<u>PEP DISTRICTS</u>		<u>UNEMPLOYED</u>
<u>RETT PROGRAM</u>			<u>PEP TRAINING</u>		
<u>PASS</u>	<u>FAIL</u>	<u>DROPOUT</u>	<u>UNTRAINED</u>	<u>PASS</u>	<u>UNTRAINED</u>
57	83	57	66	80	75
					80

Fifty-seven percent (N:10) of RETT pass respondents had a literate parent. Eighty-three percent (N:5) of respondents in the RETT fail subsample and 57 percent (N:5) of the RETT drop-outs had a literate parent. Sixty-five percent (N:6) of PEP untrained respondents reported having a literate parent while 66 percent (N:5) of RETT untrained respondents did. Eighty percent of the unemployed respondents had at least one literate parent. Parental literacy rates of respondents are, in all sub-samples, far above the national literacy rate of 26 percent. High parental literacy rates are likely related to the fact that the majority of respondents lived in urban areas where access to education is better than in rural areas. In addition, the findings support international research showing that educated parents are more likely to have educated children.

The table below shows the educational levels of female respondents.

Table IV
EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

	<u>UNDER-SLC</u>	<u>SLC</u>	<u>IA/IED*</u>
RETT PASS	5% (1)	61% (11)	28% (5)
DROP	--	100% (8)	--
FAIL	--	100% (6)	--
UNTRAINED	--	50% (4)	50% (4)
PEP PASS	--	86% (18)	14% (3)
UNTRAINED	--	87% (7)	13% (1)
UNEMPLOYED	--	93% (14)	7% (1)

There was not a great diversity in the educational attainment of female respondents. Most held an SLC certificate and overall, 18 percent held I.A. (Intermediate in Arts) or I.Ed. (Intermediate in Education) degrees. The I.A. and I.Ed. degrees require two years of study at a campus after completing the SLC examination. RETT pass and untrained respondents in RETT districts were more educated overall than respondents who had dropped-out of or failed the RETT program.²³ Among PEP respondents, the majority held SLC degrees and the level of educational attainment between PEP pass and untrained respondents in PEP districts was about the same. All unemployed respondents held SLC degrees and one woman in the subsample held an IA degree.

IV. RESEARCH FINDINGS

Data from unemployed women, RETT and PEP sub-samples are discussed in separate sections. Each section summarizes and discusses the factors found to be related to women's participation in teaching or training.

A. Unemployed Women

To put the findings and analysis into context, a brief description of the teacher recruitment and selection process in Nepal is necessary. The minimum requirement for individuals who wish to apply for a primary school teaching position is possession of a School Leaving Certificate (SLC).

Open teaching positions are advertised by posting typewritten lists of available posts outside of DEI offices. This list is known as a quota. DEIs also send letters to high schools (not primary schools) with the quota information and occasionally post advertisements in a national newspaper. One of the five DEIs interviewed said that he advertised primary teaching positions on the national radio station the previous year.

Teachers are selected on a temporary or permanent basis. For permanent positions, candidates must apply at the DEI office located in each District Center. Each of the seventy-five districts of Nepal has an administrative headquarters called the District Center. After completing an application, the candidate must take written and oral examinations. DEIs make all decisions regarding selection and appointment of permanent teachers in their districts. The number of teachers hired each year depends on a quota issued to DEIs from the Ministry of Education and Culture.

Temporary teachers may be appointed by the DEI directly, or DEIs may recommend that selection be carried out by school principals. Temporary teachers are not required to take special examinations. Occasionally, teachers who do not have an SLC certificate are hired.

Table V

FACTORS RELATED TO UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG SLC PASS WOMEN

<u>MAJOR FACTOR</u> <u>STATUS</u>	<u># RESPONSES</u>	<u>MARITAL</u>
LACK OF AFNO MANNCHE	9	ALL SINGLE

CONSTRAINT FROM PARENT OR HUSBAND	3	1 SINGLE 2 MARRIED

WANTS TO JOIN OR REMAIN	3	2 SINGLE

The Importance of "Afno Mannche," or Social Connections

As Table V indicates, nine of the fifteen unemployed women stated that lack of afno mannche, or social connections, was the major reason they were not able to get a teaching job. Afno mannche (lit. "own people") are people who are socially related to one's family and somehow connected to the social and political elite in Nepal. These social connections perform favors for families they are connected to in return for gifts or other types of favors. For the remaining six respondents, lack of social connections was a secondary, rather than a primary, factor related to their lack of employment as teachers. Regarding the importance of having social connections in securing employment, unemployed respondents said:

"If you have a certificate but no afno mannche, your certificate will remain hidden away deep in your pocket."

"I am volunteering as a teacher this year. I hope a post will open next year. . . but you need "power" at the DEI office. We don't have connections there."

Data from employed respondents confirmed the belief unemployed respondents had that obtaining a teaching job without social connections is difficult. For example, sixty-six percent of employed respondents reported that they arranged their own positions through social connections. A women from this group said:

"I think in everything you need Source Force²⁴ - I have found that out. If we have afno mannche, we can get a job. If not, we don't."

Of the five DEIs (District Education Inspectors) interviewed, three reported that they hired whomever had the highest scores on the teaching examination and two reported that they felt pressure to hire the social connections of their superiors. As one said:

"If you don't follow what your director or supervisor does in the Ministry or if you don't make them happy, you may not get the chance to get the job (promotion). This can't be changed quickly. Our society is this way. We are always saying, put my person in this post. Even with rules it doesn't make any difference - rules aren't enough."

Information Dissemination

The findings indicate that the female respondents followed culturally prescribed modes of finding work. Social connections were relied upon to bring news about possible teaching positions, and when possible, to arrange the jobs for them as well. Respondents who did not have such social connections tell them about positions were at an initial disadvantage in the teaching market, though at least one respondent felt it was worthwhile to volunteer as a teacher, hoping that if a post opened, she would have a better chance of being assigned the position.

Inadequate job advertising mechanisms appeared to reinforce respondents' reliance on traditional methods of finding work. Primary teaching jobs are not advertised in national newspapers routinely, and at the same time, few female respondents had the habit of reading papers. For example, 66 percent (N:10) of unemployed respondents reported that they only occasionally read a newspaper (even when job-hunting). Each of these women reported that they read a paper only if their father or husband brought one home. Thirty-three percent of the respondents said they never read a paper.

The extent of women's links to life outside their homes was measured by asking them about their daily routines and observation of routines during case studies. The data show that respondents were too busy with housework or fieldwork to be able to visit either the bazaar, friends homes or the DEI office where they would be able to gather information about teaching positions.

These findings indicate that unless qualified individuals have a way to find out about jobs they will be disadvantaged in the labor market. A respondent described the isolation many respondents reported when she said:

"Information never gets to the village. The boys who live in the bazaar, they know. The shopkeepers also find out things. Boys find out about things much faster than girls because boys don't have much work to do. Girls have to do everything themselves. Boys don't have any work so they can hang out around the offices, get to know people well and be with them."

The findings support the findings of Acharya and Bennett (1981, p.306) whose research showed that women were cut off from information from outside the household.

"Since women are primarily involved inside the household understood as an economic unit (not a physical boundary), they are frequently dependent on men as mediators with the outside world. This dependency deprives them of the opportunity to learn the skills necessary for dealing with the institutionalized forms of development increasingly being made available by government (Acharya and Bennett, 1981, p.307)".

Caste and Self-Confidence

For unemployed women, the issue of social connections appeared to be closely linked to two interrelated individual factors: caste and self-confidence. Respondents from hill tribes, 20 percent of the sub-sample (N:3), reported that they were unfairly excluded from social connections. These respondents, unlike those from non-hill tribe castes, also showed a lower degree of self-confidence in their ability to find work as teachers even though all of them were qualified for such work. They reported that teaching jobs were traditionally reserved for people from high castes, so since they were tribal, why even try to get a job? One SLC respondent, a member of the Magar hill tribe, when asked whether she had ever gone to the DEI office or to a local school to look for a job, looked incredulously at the researcher and said,

"I couldn't possibly get a teaching job. . . my name wouldn't be selected. . . In our village everyone is illiterate. Women say what is the use of sending our daughters to school. What to do? This is my work -- on the farm. . . my brother loads my basket and I carry the straw."

The mother of another respondent (from the Gurung hill tribe) said:

"The smartest Gurung is only as smart as the dumbest Brahmin or Chettrie. And the dumbest Brahmin or Chettrie always wins. They are very strict. We are uneducated, we are the people who sit in the corner. We don't know anything - even the voices of Brahmins and Chettries sound educated."

Another Gurung respondent said that she would not get a job until more Gurungs were employed in the civil service.

"We have 50 percent Gurungs in this district but none have reached high posts. Even though we have studied we need our own people in the post - or else our certificates are useless. I have even sent my three younger sisters to school but what will they do now? I feel bad because our people have such a low standard of living and they see no returns on their economic investments."

An unemployed Brahmin respondent confirmed the links between low self-confidence, caste and lack of social connections (afno mannche). She said:

"These people do not have confidence to do the jobs. They think - we don't have afno mannche so why try? The people at the top don't look at people down below. We have to eliminate this unfair system."

Among DEI respondents, all five were Brahmin and one said he specifically hired Brahmins. He said laughingly: "Because I am a Brahmin I put in Brahmins!".

A recent book by a Nepali anthropologist discusses links between caste and afno mannche. The author states:

"These afno mannche connections are not necessarily caste based, but membership to them takes time, knowledge and the right kind of support elsewhere. These resources are rarely available to the ethnic minority member . . . (it) is a form of social exclusion (Bista, p.57)."

Gender Discrimination

In some cases, the issues of social connections, gender and caste-based discrimination and self-confidence were so intertwined, they were difficult to untangle. All of the unemployed respondents reported that they needed permission from their fathers to work and three said their fathers did not allow them to work because they were female. Some of the respondents, however, blamed themselves for not working even though they reported their fathers were the major constraints to employment. For example:

"Girls don't really want to teach in school. Girls are not mentally strong. It doesn't seem to us that they can teach well. But I'm not like that."

"Men have the better chance (for work). Women are inferior."

"Men are only to continue the family name. They don't work. All the household work is done by women. Morning to evening in the kitchen looking after the children. Men don't have skills so they get together and play cards. That's their job. We aren't allowed to get jobs (outside) even after an education."

Unemployment and Marital Status

Seventy-three percent (N:15) of the unemployed respondents were single. Findings show that these women faced special behavioral restrictions that reduced the likelihood of their employment as teachers. Single respondents and their parents revealed that daughters were expected to stay at home until marriage. Since most teaching jobs would require walking long distances from home to reach school and possible relocation, parents did not want their daughters work as teachers. Respondents stated:

"We (our people) are backward. Girls have to go to other's houses (after marriage). Even if women study, people don't allow them to work because if they do they will go out and become "spoiled". They will marry whomever they want instead of having arranged marriages."

"I would like to teach but my father and mother don't want me to work because I am a girl and would have to go away to work. Once I get married it depends on my in-laws. If they let me, I would work."

This finding exposes a seeming contradiction. On one hand, research discussed earlier shows that parents prefer sending their daughters to schools where there are female teachers and on the other, parents interviewed were reluctant to let their daughters become teachers. This study indicates that parents were not unwilling to let their daughters become teachers, per se. They were more worried about their daughter's safety travelling to school and her living situation if she was posted alone in a distant village. Parents stated that their daughters must be able to walk to the school from home each day if they were to be allowed to work. Posting in distant villages was, without exception, out of the question. Among the five single girls who said that they were willing to travel to villages away from their homes, it was only possible to interview one of their parents. This father said,

"She should be able to walk from home, but if she is with a friend, a place further away would be fine."

Unemployed women and their families also cited inadequate financial incentives for teachers living away from home. Living away means that teachers must rent an apartment and buy their own food. Primary teacher's salaries are so low (Rs.1220/month, U.S.\$26.00) that by the time these expenses were calculated, together with the indirect costs of lost labor at home, respondents did not consider it worth it to work away from home.

Summary - Unemployed Women

The data show that a complicated web of factors were often related to women's low levels of confidence about being employed as teachers. These factors include the need for well-connected people, or afno mannche, in order to find out about and be favorably considered for positions; caste membership; and cultural prohibitions against women living or travelling away from home. Considered together with an extremely tight labor market and low teachers' salaries, these factors make it difficult for women, particularly those who are single and from hill tribes, to even consider, let alone find, employment as teachers.

B. Women's Participation in RETT

To put the RETT findings into context, it is important to understand the program recruitment strategies used by MOEC and RETT. A special MOEC committee determines the number of teachers RETT can recruit and selects the districts for RETT training each year. Criteria used to determine the number of teachers and districts are: (1) the number of untrained teachers in the seventy-five districts of the country; (2) the districts not covered by another in-service teacher training project such as PEP.

DEIs are responsible for recruiting untrained primary school teachers for participation in RETT according to the target numbers provided to them from the MOEC. Given the numbers, they select teachers using the following criteria: (1) permanent senior untrained teachers; (2) temporary senior untrained teachers. Letters of invitation with the selected teachers names are then sent to relevant school principals. In addition, DEIs in each

district said that if an individual teacher hears about the training and wants to be put on the list, it is possible for them to request this to be done.

RETT also disseminates information about the program through posting notices outside DEI offices in relevant districts and through occasional radio announcements.²⁵

Posting of notices is the responsibility of the concerned DEIs. The notices are posted onto a bulletin board that is usually located outside the front door or within a hallway of the DEI office. Bulletin boards were observed in each of the seven DEI offices visited for the study to find out who was reading the boards during different times of day. In all but one case, clusters of men were observed reading information posted on the boards. In only one case was a woman observed reading from a DEI bulletin board. DEIs and RETT project officials, however, stated that they thought most school teachers read the notices posted at DEI offices.

Factors Related to Women's Participation in RETT

The most frequently occurring factors related to recruitment in and passing RETT were access to timely and accurate information about the program and having time to participate in it (see table below).

Table VI
FACTORS RELATED TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN RETT

<u>MAJOR FACTORS</u>	<u># RESPONDENTS</u>
PASS	
Timely & Accurate Information Plus Time To Participate	18
UNTRAINED	
Lack of Timely & Accurate Information	6
Lack of Time	2
DROP-OUTS	
Lack of Time	5
Inaccurate Information	2
Lost Job	1
FAILS	
Lack of Time	3
Inaccessible RC	1
Didn't Work Hard	1
Didn't Know	1
N: 40	

Timely and Accurate Information

The importance of obtaining timely and accurate information about RETT is emphasized when results from the four sub-samples are compared. All of the RETT pass respondents had access to timely and accurate information about the program, while seventy-five per cent (N:6) of the untrained women in RETT districts either had not heard about the program at all, or did not hear about it in time to register. Furthermore, two respondents dropped-out due to inaccurate information about the program.

Obtaining Information - RETT Pass Subsample

To investigate how and why some respondents obtained information about RETT while others did not, RETT respondents were asked how they first heard about the program. The table below presents results for the RETT pass subsample.

Table VII
INFORMATION ABOUT RETT - PASS SUBSAMPLE

<u>INFORMATION SOURCE</u>	<u># RESPONDENTS</u>
LETTER FROM DEI OFFICE	8
FRIENDS/FELLOW TEACHERS	4
SAW NOTICE AT DEI OFFICE	3
RADIO ANNOUNCEMENT	1
COULD NOT REMEMBER	2
N:18	

Forty-four percent (N:8) of RETT pass respondents reported they first found out about RETT through letters sent from DEI offices to their school principals. Twenty-two percent (N:4) of the respondents first obtained information from friends or a fellow teacher, 17 percent (N:3) first saw a notice about the program at the DEI office and 5 percent (N:1) respondents first heard about the program through a radio announcement. Eleven percent (N:2) of the respondents reported that they did not remember how they first heard about the program. A respondent who found out about RETT at the DEI office said:

"I found out when I became a permanent teacher - when I took the test (at the DEI office). My principal had not said anything about it (the RETT training). Women have to be told about it."

The respondent who obtained information from a friend said²⁸:

"A male teacher from my school brought me a form that I filled out and he took it to the DEI office. I couldn't go there myself because I would have had to stay in a hotel. . ."

Obtaining Information - Drop-Out and Fail Subsamples

Respondents who had dropped-out or failed RETT showed a different pattern in how they obtained information about the program (see table below).

Table VIII
INFORMATION ABOUT RETT - DROP-OUT AND FAIL
SUBSAMPLES

<u>INFORMATION SOURCE</u>	<u>#RESPONDENTS</u>
LETTER FROM DEI OFFICE	2
FRIENDS/FELLOW TEACHERS	4
NOTICE AT DEI OFFICE	6
RADIO ANNOUNCEMENT	1
NA	1
N: 14	

Fourteen percent of the respondents (N:2) first received information about RETT through a letter from the DEI office. Twenty-nine percent (N:4) found out from friends, fellow teachers or their husbands, 43 percent (N:6) saw notices at the DEI office and one respondent first heard about it on the radio. One respondent could not remember how she first obtained information about RETT.

To investigate why the six of the drop-out or fail respondents and three pass respondents obtained information from the DEI office, while others did not, individual characteristics were analyzed. This led to the discovery that the geographic location of respondents' homes was related to obtaining information from the DEI office. All of the women who obtained information in this way lived in urban areas, and as such, did not have the problem of arranging an escort for a long period of time and finding an acceptable place to stay in the district center that rural women did. Most respondents in urban areas, however, still needed to be accompanied by a male when they visited the DEI office. Examples of respondents comments are:

"I heard about RETT first on the radio only three or four days before the application period closed. Then I went to the DEI office with a sir (male teacher)."

"Going there (to the DEI office) is not easy for me but I don't have to take anyone with me."

"I have been to the DEI office with other male teachers and they asked the questions. I later asked additional questions but I find it difficult to do the main talking."

"I was able to apply because of our afno mannche. He brought the form to my house from the DEI office."

Respondents in semi-rural and rural areas relied on colleagues, husbands, or letters from the DEI office for their information. Respondents said:

"Originally, my husband found out about the program (RETT) because he goes to the DEI office regularly. There was no letter that came to school."

Methods to disseminate information by RETT and the MOEC (using DEI bulletin board, sending letters only to pre-selected participants) reinforce traditional patterns of behavior where women rely on male relatives or colleagues to supply them with information. Since the number of women who heard about RETT on the radio was so low, it can be concluded that messages were not broadcast often enough or at times when women were listening to the radio.

Lack of accurate and timely information also influenced drop-out and failure of RETT among the women interviewed. The data show that an accurate and ongoing system to inform participants about program requirements is critical for equitable recruitment in the program. One respondent suggested:

"It is hard to get information to villages. Girls do not come into the district center to get information. If the RETT people would have gone to schools in villages, the number of women in RETT would have been higher."

Obtaining Information - Untrained Subsample

In the RETT untrained sub-sample, 75 percent (N:6) reported that they either did not know about the program in time to register or the information they received about the program was wrong so they missed registration. Women from this group said:

"I didn't know about the course in time. My principal also didn't know about it. The main problem keeping people from the training is not knowing about it."

"Usually there are all men in schools, so women don't hear about programs."

What the women who visited the DEI office on their own knew and other respondents did not was that any qualified teacher could request RETT training there. Though a request was no guarantee that their admission to training would be secured, qualified teachers could be put on a list for selection. This suggests that the low female enrollment figures in RETT do not accurately reflect the potential demand for the program and that if more women knew about it, more would enroll.

Personal Time

Once women obtained information about RETT, they then had to arrange time to participate in the program. This was an obstacle that 57 percent (N:8) of the women who dropped-out of or failed RETT stated they were not able to overcome and that kept 25 percent (N:2) of the untrained respondents from enrolling. Yet each of the RETT pass women stated they were able to overcome this obstacle. How were these groups of women different?

The study shows that women's ability to find personal time at home was related to two personal characteristics, marital status and family composition.

Marital Status

All of the respondents who cited lack of time as the major factor constraining their participation in RETT were married. The study showed that married women had less free time than did single women. They were also disadvantaged because they did not have their own rooms in which to listen to the radio, unlike single respondents, each of whom had their own rooms. For instance, a single respondent said:

"Married women have no time - they have to work because the in-laws say you should not be sitting around. They have to cook and bring water."

In contrast, married RETT respondents said:

"My friends would also have taken the program if it was at 8 or 9 p.m. How can you pass if you can't listen? At the time to cook rice, at the time to bring water, that's exactly when RETT came on the radio. . . . My husband saw that I had a lot of work. What can he say? He said maybe I can take RETT again next time. It will be easier when my kids are bigger - soon both will be in school."

"I don't visit friends. I don't even know the meaning of having a friend. I am so busy with my own work - I only do this. If I finish my work I stay at home. The radio is my friend. If there is business at the DEI office, my husband goes for me."

Family Composition - RETT PASS Subsample

Of the 12 married respondents who had time to complete RETT, 67 percent (N:8) lived in extended families with an average of 12 people in the household. Three women from this group said that being from a very large family (9-25 people) allowed them time for RETT since the women in their families took turns working. Respondents explained:

"There are eight sons in my family - though some of them often go to live in India. I am the number five daughter-in-law so we take turns cooking. We have a radio in our house - an advantage of a joint family. My father-in-law usually turns it on each day but when RETT comes on I change the channel. I can listen because there are so many of us in the family."

"My older sister-in-law does the housework in the evenings. I get home (from school) by 4:00 p.m. and that time is free for me. My sister is there too - because of that I have more free time. . . but if I had to leave the house, (getting) training would be a problem. I could stay at home and listen to the radio and didn't have to leave my family."

Mira - A Case Study

The situation of Mira²⁷ was typical of the 33 percent of married respondents who were too busy to complete RETT because they were responsible for maintaining the household - and had no other sisters or sisters-in-law to help out with the chores.

Mira is a Chettrie woman recently married who had begun teaching before her marriage. Maintaining her teaching position and being exempt from having to do "outside work"²⁸ was, in fact, a condition of her marriage. Mira thought that her profession brought status to the family. "My in-laws are proud of me", she said.

Six days a week, Mira travelled two hours by bus and walked for forty minutes to reach her school located near the district center. She had been working there for seven years. Because of the commuting distance Mira was not able to get home in time to catch the 5:30 RETT broadcasts and eventually, she dropped-out of the program. Sixty-three percent of the other RETT drop-out respondents also reported they were never able to listen to the broadcasts for similar reasons.²⁹ Mira explained:

"I am a woman - because of that I should have been able to listen but because of the time I couldn't. Married women have no time - they have to work [in the home]. In-laws are there. I have to cook and bring water. Men have less of a problem with this. They can take a half-hour and sit and listen if they are interested. Some men who are not interested - they can go out for a walk."

Upon her arrival at home, Mira was responsible for preparing dinner and cleaning up after eight family members and during certain seasons for ten or more field workers. Often dinner was not eaten until after 10:00 p.m. in the evening. On Saturdays, she waited in line to wash all of the family clothes at the village water tap. Her situation was similar to seven other of the respondents who had dropped-out of or failed RETT. Though each of the women lived in extended families, they either did not have sisters or daughters-in-law to share the household work, or the other women in the household were unwilling to share responsibilities with them.

Mira's father-in-law appeared ambivalent about how much support he was willing to give to Mira's professional ambitions. While he initially sounded supportive:

"(Professional) work is better than field work for girls because they should be able to teach and do what they want to."

Later on he said:

"I know that Mira needs training to become a permanent teacher and that she would get paid more but she doesn't have time for the program because of her household responsibilities."

Thus, Mira successfully negotiated her life so she could continue to teach after marriage and hold on to a job she liked as well as maintain her status. However, in the patriarchal society of Nepal, this was the limit of her freedom over how she spent her time. She was still held responsible for completing household duties which left no time for her to acquire additional training. Thus, Mira had to drop out of the RETT program.

Mira's case mirrored that of other employed respondents. Employment as a teacher had the positive benefit of increasing family status overall and respondents' informal power.³⁰ However, travel alone or away from the village to visit the DEI office, threatened the increased status employment brought the respondents. Finally, the delivery of quality programming alone did not guarantee audience participation and retention in some cases because of women's responsibility for labor within the home that conflicted with the time of the RETT broadcast.

Program Quality

Respondents' perceptions regarding the quality of RETT were examined to determine whether the perceived quality of the program was related to recruitment and retention in it.³¹ The data did not reveal a clear pattern.

Eight respondents made only negative comments or suggestions for program change. Seven respondents made only positive comments and eight made both positive and negative comments. The negative comments in order of frequency were as follows:

- o The program should be broadcast later in the evening (N:17).
- o Respondents were frustrated that they couldn't ask questions during broadcasts and wanted more face-to-face training than the current once a month sessions at RCs (N:6).
- o The program either went too fast or was difficult to understand (N:4).
- o The practice teaching portion of the training should be in real schools instead of teaching each other (N:2).

Positive comments were as follows:

- o Teachers felt more knowledgeable about teaching, felt teaching was easier after training and changed/improved their teaching methods (N:12). For instance one teacher said, "I learned more from the radio than from the book (Self-Instructional Materials). I feel that my teaching has changed. For example, with math I now count using pieces of chalk or corn. I can tell my students like this because I get more attention from them."
- o Teachers thought that being able to stay at home for most parts of RETT was an advantage (N:4).
- o Teacher enjoyed learning how to use local materials for teaching aids (N:1).

Many of the suggestions can be affected by program policy. For example, 53 percent (N:17) of respondents cited inconvenient broadcast time to be a major problem. Of this group, all suggested that the program be changed from 5:00 - 5:30 p.m. to 8 or 8:30 p.m. because this was when they had time to listen. Further evidence in support of the need to change the broadcast time comes from a 1974 survey of RETT participants which showed that the 5:00 p.m. time slot was not convenient for participants (data was not disaggregated by gender).³² The program budget, however, precluded broadcasting later in the evening.

Nineteen percent (N:6) of respondents stated that they would like more face-to-face meetings at Resource Centers (RC). More RC meetings would require RETT to increase their budget to cover Resource Person (RP) stipends.

Improvements in the practice teaching system could be accommodated at low cost, however. Currently, practice teaching sessions are held among the in-service teachers themselves. Instead, RETT could emulate the system many teacher training institutions use of arranging for teachers to practice teach in local schools.

Improving the intelligibility of the lessons would likely represent additional program costs because lessons would have to be re-recorded with the announcers speaking more slowly and clearly. It is likely, however, that there will always be a small percent of teachers who have difficulty understanding the lessons since for many, Nepali is not a first language.

The majority of teachers reported that the RETT program helped them to be better teachers, but more research is necessary to document the effect of RETT on teacher behavior, and eventually its effect on classroom processes and student achievement.

Access To Radios

The researcher had expected that there would be a relationship between access to radios and participation in the RETT program and that senior males in the households would control family radios thus constraining women's participation in the program. To investigate this assumption, male and female respondents were asked whether they had a radio or not, who turned on the radio each day, who controlled which channel was played and whether they ever had problems listening to RETT when they needed to. Results show that males (senior or junior) did not restrict access to radios; instead, female respondents shared the family radio with family members. In cases where female respondents had obtained a radio from the RETT program, these radios were shared with family members in the same way "family" radios were.

Ninety-one percent (N:36) of respondents had access to a radio in their own households and this group reported that they could listen to RETT whenever they needed to and had no problem changing the channel when necessary. This finding was consistent with household observations where different family members including women were seen handling the radio and changing channels. This finding should be interpreted with a degree of caution, however, since at 5:30 there is no competing program on the radio such as news or music. It could be that if RETT were switched to 8:00 p.m. when most women said they could listen, that other news or music programs would make keeping the channel on RETT difficult for potential listeners.

Other Factors - Years of Teaching Experience

An analysis of participation in RETT and individual characteristics revealed that RETT pass respondents had the most years of teaching experience - six years, on average. RETT drop-out and fail respondents had an average of five years of experience and respondents in RETT areas who did not participate in the program had an average of four years teaching experience.

The difference in years of teaching experience could be a function of more experienced teachers having had more opportunity to hear about the program or it could be a result of selection bias since DEIs selected more experienced teachers for training before less experienced teachers.

Husbands' Educational Attainment

A comparison of the educational status of husbands of married RETT respondents revealed that 75 percent (N:7) of husbands married to pass respondents held the same or a lesser degree than their wives. Only three of the husbands were more educated than their wives. Among the husbands of RETT drop-outs (N:6), there was not a consistent pattern (this was also the case among married unemployed and PEP respondents). Among married RETT fail respondents, however, all five had husbands who were more educated than they. This was similar to RETT untrained respondents (N:5). Four had husbands who were more educated than they and one had a husband with an equivalent amount of education.

These findings indicate that women in RETT areas with more educated husbands may be less likely to join and complete RETT than women with husbands who hold equivalent or lesser degrees. One possible reason for the pattern among RETT and not PEP couples is that the RETT programs draws more trainees who choose to attend training than the PEP program does because PEP training is required for all untrained teachers in PEP districts. There is no direct evidence to support this hypothesis, however.

Another possible explanation comes from research carried out in the United States, which found a link between husband's educational attainment and instrumental support to wives. In a study of wives returning to university and their husbands, Suiter (1988, p.482) found that "well educated husbands held more positive attitudes towards their wives' enrollment than did less educated husbands; however, contrary to expectations, well-educated husbands provided their wives with lower levels of instrumental support than did less-educated husbands. Less-educated husbands appear to have provided their wives with higher levels of instrumental support because they were more likely to believe that their wives' increasing educational attainment would raise the total family income".

Summary - Factors Affecting Women's Participation in RETT

Two major factors were identified as affecting women's recruitment and retention in RETT: (1) availability of timely and accurate information about the program and (2) time to participate in the program. Time to participate in the program was closely linked to whether women found the radio broadcast time of the program convenient. A majority of respondents said they could have found time to participate in the program if the broadcasts had been later in the evening when it would not conflict with their household responsibilities³³.

The findings illuminated the social isolation of most respondents. Particularly in rural areas, women live within the limited spheres of their homes and schools, constrained by the double burden of labor in the household and in their profession. Thus to a large extent, women are cut off from the outside world. Respondents relied on traditional systems of information gathering: social connections to bring news to the household, the principal to bring news from the DEI office, the DEI to send a letter, or colleagues who would do the favor of speaking for them at the DEI office. The finding that women are socially isolated because their activities are governed by traditional codes of behavior indicates that RETT program policy has not adapted to the reality of female participants' lives.

C. Women's Participation in PEP

To put the PEP findings into context, it is important to understand the program recruitment strategies used by MOEC and PEP. The first step is for Resource Persons to develop a list of untrained teachers from their area with help from school principals. This list is then approved by Field Coordinators and DEIs in the District Center. Teachers selected first are those who: 1) are untrained, 2) have permanent status, 3) are experienced. Teachers already trained through other programs may also attend training, but untrained teachers are given priority. The goal of PEP is to eventually train all teachers in PEP areas.

Factors Related to Women's Participation in PEP

The most frequently occurring factors related to recruitment in and passing PEP were access to timely and accurate information and access to the Resource Center. The table below summarizes data from two subsamples of respondents in PEP districts: PEP Pass and Untrained teachers.

Table IX
FACTORS RELATED TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEP

<u>MAJOR FACTORS</u>	<u># RESPONDENTS</u>
PASS	
Timely & Accurate Information Plus Accessible RC	21
UNTRAINED	
Did Not Meet Selection Criteria	7
Inaccessible RC	1
N:29	

Information Dissemination

Findings indicate that the PEP recruitment strategy was often affected by favoritism and aphno manchhe. As a result, teachers who fit all of the appropriate criteria but did not have the backing of influential superiors were not selected to receive training. For instance, trainers and principals said:

". . . sometimes the principal sends his favorites and the RP has to intervene."

"They (RPs) only put in their aphno manchhe. They should pick the most experienced teachers first. Teachers with at least five years of experience."

Voluntary Service Overseas respondents who worked on the PEP project in the field also stated aphno manchhe was a problem. One volunteer said:

"The selection has an awful lot to do with aphno manchhe. The teachers who get chosen are the ones who are seen in the DEI office."

A female respondent who had passed PEP stated:

"Without "Source Force" there was no chance to get into training. The RP was my aphno manchhe so I got in. Later my friend did the same."

One possible reason aphno manchhe was an issue in PEP areas but not in RETT areas was that PEP offers a financial incentive to training participants; a special training allowance of 30 rupees (US \$0.70) per day.

After teacher selection, DEIs send letters to each primary school where selected teachers work inviting them to the training. As in the case of the RETT program, if teachers are interested in training and are not on the selection list, they can request their RP to be put on the list.

Information About PEP -- Pass Subsample

All of the PEP Pass respondents heard about training through Resource Persons (RPs) as well as through letters from their DEI. RPs visit schools in their cluster areas on a regular basis (usually once every two months), and proved, in most cases, to be effective conduits of information about PEP training to teachers. RC information complemented the information in the DEI letters. The letters were found to be important not only because respondents received timely information about PEP training, but also because the letters were perceived by the teachers and their family members as something "official". For example, a respondent said:

"I received a letter from this RC at my school so it (joining the training) was easy. Without the letter my husband would have objected perhaps."

Information About PEP -- Untrained Subsample

In contrast to the untrained respondents in RETT areas, seventy-five per cent of whom had never heard of RETT, all of the untrained respondents in PEP areas had heard of the PEP 150 hour training program. Eighty-eight percent (N:7) of the untrained PEP respondents said they had not yet participated in training because it was not their turn yet.

"The RP selects. . . The people who have already been trained by PEP don't get to retake the training. It goes by turns. I think I will get a chance."

Half of the untrained respondents, however, either did not know that trained teachers receive a salary increase or did not know how much it was. For example:

"They say my salary will change, I don't know by how much."

"Salary change? I don't know about that. I don't know what happens after training."

Vishnu - A Case Study

Vishnu was typical of the married respondents who had passed the PEP 150 hour training program. She lived in a small village in western Nepal only a few minutes walk from a road. Vishnu's Resource Center was located in her school, so attending training did not pose special time requirements for her.

Vishnu had found her position through her husband's aphno manchhe in the District Education Office. She said:

"It was easy to get a job since my husband was also at the school. He was working there as an accountant. I also had to give an examination (for the teaching post) and in the competition, I came first."

Vishnu hired a baby-sitter to watch their children during the day. Without childcare, however, she admits that she would not have been able to attend the training:

"If there was no one to look after my child I would not have attended training and I couldn't have gone to school either. I found a girl from a poor family who didn't have enough to eat. She was willing to work and I teach her a little at home."

The importance of reliable child-care was noted by another respondent, who referred to the difficulties experienced by some women in the PEP program who were the mothers of young children:

"The women who came a distance (to the RC) had difficulty since they had to come from so far leaving young babies. Some even missed the final examination of the 150 hour training because of their children. In other RCs, the examinations were adjusted and they went to those other places and took the examination."

Vishnu was chosen for training by her principal and the RP and was informed by a letter sent to her school. When asked about being the only woman in training, she responded:

"I did not feel shy. I talked to everyone. The only thing was I was alone and I felt uneasy around men because when I had to go to the toilet or had other problems. . . If the trainer had been a woman I think that would have been better. Everywhere there are men. In one of my training sessions, I was the only woman!"

Unlike most PEP respondents, Vishnu was too busy to listen to the radio. Overall, 43 percent (N:9) of PEP pass respondents and 75 percent (N:6) of PEP untrained respondents reported that they listened to the radio regularly. Vishnu was more typical of respondents in PEP districts in that she - like 43 percent (N:9) of PEP pass respondents and 25 percent of untrained PEP respondents (N:2) - very rarely or never read a newspaper.

"I used to listen to the radio before like to the RETT program. But now I do not get a chance to listen. Also we get the newspaper in school. My husband reads it, mainly the English paper, and I would like to read but I don't have much time."

Vishnu's case illustrates how a combination of factors affect women's ability to find out about and successfully complete PEP training. These factors include: (1) accessible in-service training with no extra-curricular requirements; (2) accurate, accessible information about the program, partly as the result of her husband's social connections; and (3) reliable childcare.

Lack of Time

Lack of time to participate in PEP was not a constraining factor for most women in the PEP subsample. There appeared to be two major reasons for this:

- 1) PEP trainees go to training instead of school during the course of training -- so their household routine is not disrupted as it is for RETT participants who complete the program after regular school hours; and
- 2) RCs are accessible to most teacher's homes or schools.

Attention should be paid to the situation of a respondent who was the only teacher in her school. She was able to submit her name for training only because her school happened to be a night school. Had it been a day school, she would have had to close the school during the training periods.

"I am just beginning as a teacher and I haven't had the opportunity to take training. I haven't been invited yet. Because I am the only teacher at my school but will need to be at the training . . . how can I leave the school without a teacher? They must have had a thought that the class would be without a teacher. But my school is a night school. So I went and talked at the DEI office and cleared up this situation."

Training through a distance education program such as RETT may be a better option for training for teachers in single teacher schools, because RETT does not keep teachers from their regular teaching duties.

Rita - A Case Study

Rita, an untrained teacher in a PEP area, reported that the RC was too far away for her to attend training. This was a situation that three other respondents reported. Particular attention should be paid to the multiple factors constituting Rita's case because at present, she is one of the few female teachers living in a rural area within the PEP target area, but as the new Basic and Primary Education Project expands throughout the country, hundreds of teachers are likely to experience problems similar to her.

Rita lived one day's walk from the District Center - not a remote area by Nepali standards. She was single, lived with her family and had been teaching in the local school as a primary teacher for the past three years.

Rita had missed the chance to become a permanent teacher because she didn't receive information about how to fill out the required forms in time. She explained:

"I missed the chance to fill out those forms because I didn't know about it. The sirs (male teachers) had to take the forms to the district center and the day I knew about it was the deadline day for submitting them. The sirs went to the district center right away and I wasn't ready to go. So I missed the chance. Even the head sir didn't tell me. My friend Usha's case (another female teacher) is the same. She also didn't get to be permanent for the same reason."

Rita's uncle was a member of the School Management Committee (now called School Help Committees). He arranged Rita's teaching job for her through his aphno manchhe in the district education office. Without such connections, Rita thought that she wouldn't have gotten her job.

A letter came to Rita's school (the Resource Person had not visited in nine months) stating that two training slots were open but the Resource Center was a five hour walk from her village. She explained:

"Some time ago two teachers were invited for training and the head sir made a selection. He selected me and one of the male teachers. After that I felt that the training was too far away (5 hour walk). I am the only female teacher, I don't have any relatives there. There were no living quarters arranged. Being a single women teacher how can I go there and live in a hotel and which hotel would I stay in anyway? So I decided not to do the training and not to go - so only that male teacher went. . . He told me he was staying with his relatives. I had no one there. If they could manage housing facilities for us we (women) can go. . . I also feel scared to walk alone. You know we are Nepali and we feel uncomfortable to walk alone. It would be good if we could go in a group. . . The main thing is that facilities for girls are necessary. There should be a safe place. If these things are arranged,

we can attend the training."

Despite the barriers to attending training that Rita faced because she lacked someone to accompany her to the training site and a safe and socially acceptable place to stay, these issues were not recognized by MOEC respondents as potential problems for women teachers. For example, one MOEC respondent said:

"Nobody refuses to take this training. All the female teachers if sent to any part of the district for training would willingly go. Because they get extra allowance. If in case they are told to spend their own money, they wouldn't go. But since they are well looked after and get food and lodging money they are eager to attend."

Rita's case and that of other respondents indicate several major constraints to women travelling away from their households. First, a moral prohibition against women travelling at all is related to cultural traditions that define a woman's place as within the confines of the village. However, evidence from this study suggests that this prohibition can be eased if women have at least one travel companion.

A second constraint against travelling that respondents voiced was fear of physical assault. As is the case in many other countries, Nepali women are caught in a double bind. Fearful of assault by men, women are often reluctant to move beyond their homes and schools, yet when women are assaulted it is the women who are accused of immorality. However, one way to ease this constraint is through a travel companion.

A third constraint women face in travelling is the lack of social acceptance of women lodging alone. Policy changes likely to overcome the travel restrictions Rita and others faced would be that the RP could arrange her lodging in advance of training. Paying for respondents' lodging may also help overcome culturally based travel constraints. The current thirty rupees per day training allowance is not enough to cover both food and lodging.

In this case, there was a limit as to how much in-service training, as it was set up, would benefit Rita and her family. Travel to a distant RC and arranging one's own lodging was a requirement for participation in the program, but the requirements were seen as a liability to the status of Rita's family because of cultural prohibitions against single girls travelling and lodging alone. Thus, the benefits of the program, increased financial resources, professional skills and status, did not provide adequate incentives to overcome the disincentives of distant travel and lack of lodging arrangements.

Other Gender Related Issues

Female respondents were asked questions related to their experiences as women during training sessions. Respondents reported that they were a distinct minority in all training sessions (generally one or two women and twenty men in a session), and that, as a result they felt shy in the training at first. Most reported that they were able to overcome this problem,

however. As one teacher said:

"It was nice to have a girlfriend with me (in training) but even if I was alone I would have taken the course. . . We all talked. The men teachers were in groups and the women were divided up and we all had to have discussions together."

When the respondent refers to the women being "divided up", she meant that the group of teachers was divided into groups in such a way that women were not all together in one group. Instead, each woman teacher sat with a group of male teachers. Another respondent said:

"We were only two women and she felt shy to speak. I used to tell her not to be this way. What difference will it make? I told her we should speak whenever it was necessary. Later on when we got used to it we started to speak comfortably. But sometimes she used to think that if she talks with the men that her father will scold her. We sometimes have fears like this. Sometimes in our society people talk like we have bad relations with the men in such trainings. This is not true but we have a fear of this."

All but one of the PEP respondents reported that women received the same treatment as men in PEP training sessions. Respondents found this question difficult to understand, however, so the results should be interpreted cautiously. For example, many respondents asked what "fairly treated" or "same treatment as the men" meant - many respondents did not seem to understand the question. For this reason, it was concluded that some respondents may not have been aware of or able to articulate discrimination or harassment when it happened. One respondent who had such problems said:

"What I found out was that the men teased the women teachers and tried to make us nervous asking unnecessary questions and so on which I didn't like. It was sort of nasty - maybe I was younger than them and they were more experienced than me. When I had to teach the men (for practice teaching) I was afraid and uncomfortable and used to have to tell myself not to be shy. . . I was really scared and thought, why did I come? . . Little by little I found it easier and especially later when the men teased me it didn't make any difference."

It was difficult to determine the degree to which gender discrimination or sexual harassment took place in PEP trainings. Nevertheless the experience of this one respondent indicates that men trainees may act in ways that make women trainees feel uncomfortable, such as by interrupting or teasing them. Program evaluations should include questions that ask women about the degree of comfort they experience in the classroom so that any problems can be identified and possible solutions found.

Quality of PEP

Data collected on respondent perceptions of the quality of PEP training revealed a clear pattern. All of the respondents were markedly enthusiastic about their training experiences and all provided examples of how their teaching had changed as a result of training. For example:

"I used to only read from the book. Now I have experience in how to make pictures and how to handle the students - this is good."

"The training was practical - we didn't know the techniques and how to make educational materials. It (the training) made us professionals."

"Before training when I went to class I thought it was easy to teach because I used the book and taught whatever I knew. But after the training I found out how to separate the groups, how to make lessons plans . . . doing the evaluations to see if students understood or not - from this I have learned a lot of new things."

"In the old way when the students didn't understand something we would give them a hard time or hit them. We didn't know why they were having problems. Now we know how to easily teach the ones who don't understand - how to attract their attention."

One respondent commented that the training helped increase her self-confidence in the classroom. She said:

"I knew after the training whether the students understood my lesson or not and right now I have the feeling that I am a more experienced teacher. I have been able to make the students understand. One thing after the training that I experienced was a real increase in my self-confidence. Before the training I used to be afraid of being in the classroom but now I don't have this feeling at all. While teaching, even if the sirs (male teachers) are in the class supervising, I don't feel intimidated."

Five respondents made specific recommendations to improve PEP. Four suggestions were to increase the length or frequency of trainings so teachers could have more practice utilizing what they had learned in earlier trainings and one respondent suggested that separate training be conducted for women.

Summary - Factors Affecting Women's Recruitment and Retention in PEP

Major factors found to influence the recruitment and retention of women in PEP were access to timely and accurate information, and having an accessible Resource Center. When Resource Centers were not accessible, women faced problems related to the prohibitions against women leaving their villages and to finding child care.

Resource Persons were found to play an important role in informing respondents about PEP; self-selection (as in the case of RETT area respondents) was found to be minimal. Because the RPs brought information directly from the DEI office to schools, respondents knew what the selection criteria were for training and where and when training took place.

Inaccessible RCs were identified as a barrier or potential barrier to participation in PEP training for a small group of respondents. Mobility problems included lack of lodging facilities near the RC, the importance of accessible child-care, the fear of travelling alone and social codes that make travelling alone for women morally unacceptable.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In part A of this section, the factors found to influence women's participation in teaching and in-service training are summarized. Part B suggests a set of interventions, based on the findings, likely to increase the recruitment of women in the teaching force and in professional training programs in Nepal. Part C discusses those aspects of the findings that are applicable to other settings and countries where gender equity is sought.

A. Factors that Influence Women's Participation in Teaching and In-service Training

The factors found to affect women's participation in primary school teaching and in-service training in Nepal were grouped into four categories (see Table x below):

Table x
CATEGORIES OF FACTORS RELATED TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN TEACHING AND TRAINING

<u>OUTSIDE GATEKEEPERS</u>	<u>HOUSEHOLD GATEKEEPERS</u>
Connections Timely & Accurate dissemination of information Time of broadcast (RETT program only) Traditional attitudes towards the role of women Existence of childcare at training site Program quality	Permission from parent, husband or parent in-law Timely and accurate information from parent or husband
<u>ACCESSIBILITY OF JOBS & TRAINING</u>	<u>PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS</u>
Distance home to Resource Center Lodging facilities at RC Distance home to school Existence of travel companion	Personal motivation/ Self-Confidence Caste Marital Status Family Composition

Gatekeepers

An assumption at the beginning of this study was that the man of the household (usually the husband or father of the respondent) would be the most important factor affecting women's ability to acquire and retain teaching jobs and to participate in in-service training. Labeled gatekeepers, they were defined as the person who holds the most control in any individual household over major decisions. Gatekeepers were expected to have the most control over how family members become educated and employed and also make the most decisions concerning radio usage in the household. However, the study found two categories of gatekeepers that influence women's participation in teaching and in the RETT and PEP training programs: household gatekeepers and outside gatekeepers.

Household Gatekeepers

Household Gatekeepers were found to have a large degree of control over respondents' participation in teaching and in training programs. Household Gatekeepers were heads of households - usually fathers, fathers-in-law, and occasionally mothers-in-law. They were not shown to control radio usage in households as assumed. However, they did control, to a large degree, the information that came into the household. Variations in relationships between respondents and Household Gatekeepers were handled differently depending on the particular situation and respondents' personal characteristics.

Outside Gatekeepers

Outside Gatekeepers are people responsible for planning and implementing teacher recruitment and training program policies and programs. Outside Gatekeepers also decide whether and how jobs and training is advertised. This group includes education officials from the Ministry of Education and Culture, planners and policymakers within the RETT and PEP programs, and District Education Inspectors. Social connections, such as afno mannche, are also included in this category because such people are connected to decisionmakers and were found to play an important role in information dissemination between decisionmakers, such as DEIs, and program participants.

Accessibility to Jobs and Training Programs

The research showed access to jobs or to the in-service training programs was critical to respondent participation in them. Accessible jobs or programs were found to be those that the respondents and their Household Gatekeepers felt they could safely travel to. Factors related to access of jobs and the RETT and PEP training programs included: distance from the respondents' home and having a friend to walk with. In the case of the RETT and PEP training programs, access was influenced by the existence of arranged lodging and availability of childcare at the training site. In the case of RETT only, the broadcast time influenced participation in the program.

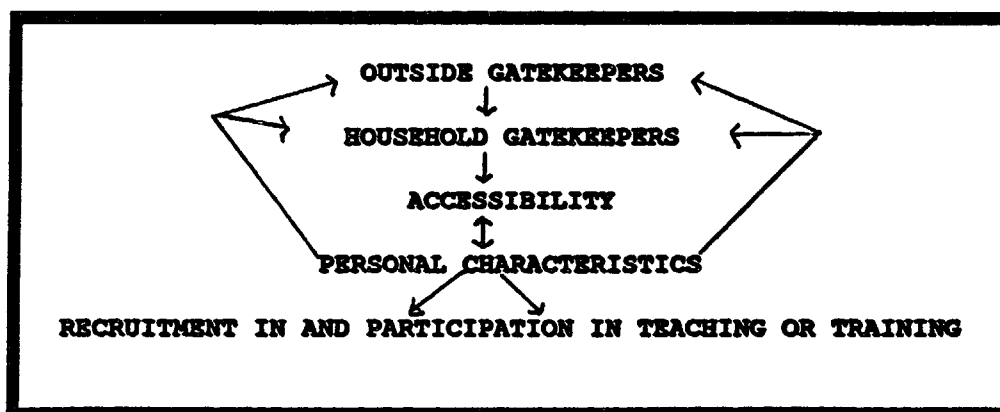
Personal Characteristics

Personal characteristics found to influence respondents' participation in teaching included ethnicity, social class and caste, marital status, family composition, years of teaching experience and level of self-confidence. These factors were closely linked to the other categories of factors. For example, a Brahmin respondent who got her teaching position through her connections in the DEI office also had accurate and timely information about the teaching job through the Brahmin principal in her village who was related to her. In such a case, it is not possible to untangle whether it was her ethnicity or her connections or a combination that was most influential in her finally getting a position. The case is also true among many hill tribe respondents who had very low levels of self-confidence regarding their prospects for obtaining a teaching job. They did not have connections, so they did not make the effort to visit the DEI office to check for open positions.

Category Relationships

The categories were found to function in a sequential manner. Each category functioned as a filter that must be passed through before respondents were in a position to make decisions regarding movement into the teaching force or into the RETT or PEP programs. The conceptual model below shows how the categories of factors influenced respondents' movement into and participation in the teaching profession.

Table XI
CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF STUDY FINDINGS



An example of how the sequence of categories functioned is the case of Mira. Mira first found out about RETT through a letter from her DEI - an Outside Gatekeeper. She also knew, through her school principal (another Outside Gatekeeper), that completion of the training program would lead to an increase in her teaching salary. If Mira had never heard of the program she could not have participated in it, and if she did not know about the salary increase, she would also have had less incentive to enroll in training. She then negotiated with her father-in-law, the Household Gatekeeper - to obtain his permission to participate in the training. Despite the fact that she was able to obtain permission, the lack of program accessibility eventually caused her to drop-out of RETT. Her access was constrained because she was not able to reach her home before the 5:30 p.m. broadcasts because of her long commute from school each day.

The four categories represent the existence of factors that can significantly inhibit Nepali women from attaining employment as teachers and acquiring in-service training. In order to increase women's participation in the primary school teaching force and in teacher training, policy must be changed to take these factors into account.

B. Increasing the Number of Female Primary School Teachers

The table below illustrates factors identified by the research that are likely to affect women's participation in the primary teaching force. Factors found to make women's employment more likely are: having social connections, being of high caste, living in or near a District Center, having family support, having access to information. Factors that could be affected by policy changes so as to increase women's employment as teachers are discussed below.

Table XII
LIKELIHOOD OF EMPLOYMENT AS A PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHER

<u>LOW</u> <u>NO SOCIAL CONNECTIONS</u>	<u>HIGH</u> <u>HAS AFNO MANNCHE</u>
IS SINGLE FEMALE MEMBER OF HILL TRIBE	IS HIGH CASTE MALE
LIVES FAR FROM DISTRICT CENTER	LIVES IN OR NEAR DISTRICT CENTER
<u>NO FAMILY SUPPORT</u>	<u>HAS FAMILY SUPPORT</u>
<u>NO ACCESS TO INFORMATION</u> <u>INFORMATION</u>	<u>H A S A C C E S S T O</u>
NOTE: Underlined factors can be affected by policy	

Reduce the Importance of Social Connections

Policy measures could reduce dependence on the system of social connections for employment. To improve the fairness of the teacher examination and selection system, examinations, now developed and evaluated in district centers, could be centrally managed and criteria for selection and posting teachers could be made explicit.

Reduce the Effects of Caste and Gender Discrimination

A district-based quota for female primary school teachers could be considered. DEI respondents supported a quota for females. They felt that it would be the only way to increase the number of women in the teaching force. Quotas could be calculated annually based on the number of SLC pass women within the district.

Increase Access to Information for Rural Women

Accessible information systems for advertising teaching positions could be designed and implemented so that rural women are not excluded from finding out about open positions. The study shows that radio is a more accessible medium of information dissemination than newspapers are. School principals could also play a role within their communities by visiting families with qualified unemployed females and encouraging them to apply for open positions.

Increase Family Support for Women's Employment

Attitudes towards women working could be affected through a social marketing program. Other strategies to increase family support for women working would be incentives, such as a travel allowance, housing allowance, and child-care at or near schools for teachers posted away from their homes. Posting teaching couples together could also be considered.

C. Increasing the Number of Women in In-Service Teacher Training

The table below illustrates factors identified by the research that are related to female respondents' participation in the RETT and PEP programs. Factors found to make women more likely to participate in training are: having access to information, finding the radio broadcast time convenient, having family support, living near a Resource Center, having travel companions, having safe accommodation arranged, being a permanent and experienced teacher. Factors that could be affected by policy changes so as to increase women's participation in in-service training are discussed below.

Table XIII
LIKELIHOOD OF FEMALE TEACHERS PARTICIPATING IN IN-SERVICE
TEACHER TRAINING

<u>LOW</u>	<u>HIGH</u>
<u>NO ACCESS TO INFORMATION</u>	<u>HAS ACCESS TO INFORMATION</u>
<u>INCONVENIENT BCAST TIME</u>	<u>CONVENIENT BCAST TIME</u>
<u>FAMILY DOES NOT SUPPORT</u>	<u>FAMILY SUPPORTS</u>
<u>LIVES FAR FROM RC</u>	<u>LIVES NEAR RC</u>
<u>HAS NO TRAVEL</u> <u>COMPANIONS</u>	<u>HAS TRAVEL</u> <u>COMPANIONS</u>
<u>NEEDS TO ARRANGE</u> <u>OWN ACCOMMODATIONS</u>	<u>SAFE ACCOMMODATIONS</u> <u>ARE ARRANGED</u>
<u>IS TEMPORARY</u>	<u>IS PERMANENT</u>
<u>INEXPERIENCED TEACHER</u>	<u>EXPERIENCED TEACHER</u>
NOTE: Underlined factors can be affected by policy	

Increase Access to Information

To increase the equity of the teacher recruitment system, locally recruited extension agents (such as RPs) could be hired to bring information from the program to intended program beneficiaries. These agents could also facilitate the flow of "bottom-up" communication from program beneficiaries to program planners. Two strategies to complement an extension system are: (1) radio broadcasts of short (1-2 minute) radio messages about the program; and (2) sending letters to each primary school principal in relevant districts that describe the training program in detail.

Change Inconvenient Broadcasting Time

Since the current broadcast time conflicts with most women's household responsibilities a change to later in the evening--after 8 p.m.-- should be made. However, changing to a later time-slot would mean increased costs for the program. If the added cost makes such a change impossible, an alternative policy option would be to abandon radio broadcasts altogether, make printed materials more substantial and RC meetings more frequent.

Increase Family Support for Training

To improve family attitudes towards women working and improving their skills, social marketing programs could be developed. Existing incentives for participation (e.g. allowances, salary increases) should be communicated to intended program beneficiaries.

Increase Access to Resource Centers

Policy options to eliminate women's disincentives to travel away from their homes and villages include arranging for culturally acceptable and safe accommodations for women, and for travel companions to and from RCs. RPs could be responsible for identification and compensation of acceptable villagers to accompany women trainees. For teachers from single teacher schools, one option would be to provide distance training so schools do not have to be closed. Special policies that support training for these teachers is important so that they are not inadvertently left out of training.

Arranging for the needs of women with small children who live far from their RC is more problematic. In some cases, women with a travel companion and lodging facilities could bring their child(ren) along to be cared for by the travel companion during training sessions.

D. Implications of this Study for Programs Elsewhere

Many countries including Pakistan, Bangladesh, parts of India and Yemen, share with Nepal a low level of infrastructure, poor service delivery, low school quality, constrained budgets, and gender inequities in the labor market. This study provides a perspective on how women's participation in training or other types of programs in these countries may be implemented in ways that meet the special needs of women.

First, the study provides a strategy of culturally appropriate research for the investigation of women's participation in the labor market or in development programs. A summary of the three phase strategy used for this study is as follows:

- 1) Reconnaissance trip to gather baseline data from as large and varied a sample as possible.
- 2) Analyze data to identify preliminary categories grounded in the language of the participants as much as possible and select a sample of

respondents for in-depth case study. This study suggests four new categories to consider in data analysis: Outside Gatekeepers, Household Gatekeepers, Information Dissemination, Access and Time.

- 3) Conduct case studies to collect in-depth data about women's lives. Examples of such data would include information on formal and informal power and authority relations within the respondent's family; religious, cultural or personal safety factors associated with travel away from one's home; perceptions and actual behaviors of family members of the respondent that are instrumental or constraining to the trainee's participation in the program under investigation.

With this strategy it is possible to first gather baseline data on a large sample to answer the question: "What is happening?" During this stage, the researcher has the opportunity to adjust preconceived research questions and/or research instruments when needed, thus improving study validity. During the next fieldwork stage, in-depth research on a representative group of the larger sample will address the important question "Why are things happening the way they are?" By combining the use of structured and unstructured interviews, participant observation and case studies, rich contextual data will be collected and the degree of non-sampling error³⁴ in the study will be minimized.

Second, the results of this study suggest a set of questions that should be asked when investigating gender equity issues in program implementation. They are:

1. How are program participants selected and chosen? Are the criteria for selection and posting explicit and fairly implemented?
2. How are positions/training programs advertised? Is the system of advertising accessible to target groups including minority groups and women in terms of availability and cost?
3. How strong is the system of personal connections? What percentage of the those now working in the sector/program obtained their positions through relatives or other personal connections?
4. Are there separate and safe accommodations at training sites for women? Have women participants been asked about possible accommodation problems/issues? Who covers the costs of accommodations?
5. Is safe and inexpensive transportation available to the job/training/program site?
6. What incentives exist, if any, to facilitate the entry of women or minorities into the profession or into training programs? What disincentives exist (e.g. cost of materials or transportation)? Are the incentives clearly communicated to the intended audience?
7. Is program data collected and analyzed by gender?

NOTES

1. One factor related to the low quality of education in Nepal is the unusual history of the country. From 1769 to 1951, Nepal was governed by a series of hereditary rulers who maintained a feudal system of rule and kept the country isolated from the outside world. Public schools did not exist for children of families outside the ruling families until 1951.

Indigenous forms of education have always been an important part of Nepali life in the form of both Buddhist and Hindu religious schools, though most schools were for boys. Informal and specialized training was also imparted to sons and daughters through family and caste traditions.

2. Gross enrollment ratios (GER) for Nepal in 1990 were as follows:

Primary		Lower Secondary		Secondary	
male	female	male	female	male	female
101	73	39	24	28	16

Gross enrollment ratios are calculated by dividing the total enrollment in a given grade regardless of age by the population of legal admission age.

Source: The World Bank, 1991.

3. The SLC examination is offered each year to students who have completed grade ten - the final year of the secondary system. In Nepal, primary schools consist of grades 1-5 and secondary schools, grades 6-10.

4. r: .058

5. From east to west the PEP districts are: Jhapa, Dhankuta, Tanahu, Kaski, Dang, and Surkhet.

6. PEP unit costs including materials, food and travel allowances for trainers is approximately Rupees.1678 per participant (MOEC Master Plan, 1991, p.73)

7. An over-enrolled course is one where more teachers signed up and participated in the course than were anticipated or planned for.

8. Enrollment records are kept in District Centers. This data was not collected and disaggregated by gender.

9. The Master Plan does not state whether administrative costs, staff salaries and construction of offices and Resource Centers are included in unit cost calculations.

10. During the three most recent years of RETT the program operated in the following districts:

1988-1989: Rasuwa, Nuwakot, Dhading, Gorkha, Sindupalchowk, Dolakha
 1989-1990: Lamjung, Tanahu, Gorkha, Makwanpur, Rasuwa, Nuwakot, Dhading,

Sindupalchowk, Dolakha
1990-1991: Lamjung, Rasuwa, Nuwakot, Kavre, Dhading, Sindupalchowk, Gorkha,
Tanahu, Dolakha

11. The unit cost of RETT, assuming 3000 teachers are enrolled is approximately Rs.1553 (Holmes, et.al. 1990).

12. This figure takes into account administrative costs, radio time, staff salaries and building rental.

13. The focus of research was at the individual level. An assumption of the study was that there will be a complex set of responses to a particular policy or program (in this case, responses to the new teacher training requirement and the RETT program among women teachers). This assumption is reflected in the methodology where the aim was to collect as wide a range of interview responses as possible, to focus on the socio-cultural, economic and political structures extant and to identify incentives that have an effect on or may potentially have an effect on RETT participation and completion.

14. During this phase, new lines of questioning were added to the interview guides after unexpected information was obtained. For example, in early interviews several untrained serving teachers mentioned they had never heard of the RETT program though it had been operating in their districts for years. Thus, new questions were added to the interview guide to find out how women obtained information from outside their households and villages.

15. The fieldwork process in RETT districts was efficient because enrollment records for all RETT training are kept in the central RETT office. Therefore, respondents could be selected and trip logistics worked out in advance of fieldwork.

The data collection system in the PEP project did not allow the researcher to identify in advance where female teachers were located because enrollment records were kept in District Education Offices. Therefore, PEP districts were selected for maximum geographic, ethnic and economic variation and after discussions with District Education Inspectors and local villagers, those villages where female teachers were likely to be, were visited. On four occasions, the researcher walked one or two days to interview a female teacher only to find she had left the village to visit a relative's home in another village.

16. The strategy of the research design was to choose a sample that maximized variation within a subgroup of the population, in this case Nepali female teachers and Nepali SLC pass unemployed women. The purpose of this strategy was to generate findings that could be generalized within the subgroup itself.

17. Research instruments included the following: 1) a questionnaire for baseline data, 2) interview guides for each sub-sample, 3) a self-administered survey to assess radio listening habits given to each RETT participant in the sample.

18. Passing for both programs, means that the trainee attended the required number of face-to-face training sessions and passed both written and practical examinations at the completion of the training period).

19. PEP data indicated that there was no failure or dropout in the program. Close analysis of program records in district centers indicated that many teachers had failed the final exam. Program staff reported that this group of teachers nearly always retook the examination and subsequently passed; the participants who had failed the examination were not reported by the district level staff to the central staff. Regarding dropout in PEP, respondents reported that the mix of people in training sessions was usually different from the first to the third sessions but they did not know whether people who were missing from one session to the next had actually dropped-out or not.

In the context of PEP, dropout was difficult to define because it may take one teacher several years to complete all three sessions. The statistics below indicate that 597 teachers who began the program did not finish it. Because PEP records do not track individual students through the sessions, it is not possible to know whether those teachers are waiting for a training slot or whether he/she has dropped out.

Number of PEP 150 hour Training Participants (1984-1990)

Teaching Methods (session one)	4038
Educational Materials (session two) . .	3780
Learning Strategies & Evaluation (session three). . .	3441

The absence of accurate data is an important issue for future researchers investigating the outcomes of different training programs or the costs and benefits of such programs. The data now available presents a skewed picture of PEP training program outputs.

20. Hill tribes are groups of people of Mongolian descent and whose languages are Tibeto-Burman in origin. Many of the languages survive today, though most members of hill tribes also speak Nepali, the national language. Newaris are not of hill tribe origin, and many anthropologists believe they were the indigenous occupants of the Kathmandu valley. Their language is Tibeto-Burman in origin and is spoken (along with Nepali) by most Newaris who live in the Kathmandu valley. Newari culture reflects both Tibetan and Indo-Aryan influences.

21. For the purpose of the study, urban was defined as any location less than two hours walk or bus ride to a district center and rural was defined as any location that took more than two hours to walk to or more than two hours to reach by bus plus walking (e.g. not near a bus stop). Three respondents lived two or more days walk from the nearest district center. Semi-rural was defined as living more than two hours by bus to a district center.

22. For the purposes of the study, respondents were simply asked if either of their parents could read or write and actual literacy tests were not administered to parents.

23. Because of the small sample size, great weight should not be attached to these distributions, but it is interesting to note that when geographic location of respondents' homes was examined to investigate a possible link between higher education and geographic location, it was found that each of the respondents who had Intermediate degrees lived in District Centers. It is probable that respondents in urban areas are more likely to hold higher degrees since Intermediate level programs are only available at campuses which are usually located in or near District Centers.

24. Nepalis use the English words "Source Force" to mean using personal connections to do something.

25. Radio messages were broadcast a total of three times in 1991/92 before the 7:00 a.m. morning news and after the 7:00 p.m. evening news, for three days in a row. In 1991-1992, broadcasting began three months prior to RETT registration time. In other years, however, RETT officials reported that the determination of districts and quotas figures have been delayed. In these cases, radio messages about RETT were also late.

26. Respondents were not specifically asked whether their friend was male or female.

27. All respondent's names were changed to protect their anonymity.

28. Here "outside work" means fieldwork, cutting grass for the animals, cutting wood or carrying any of these things. It is distinguished from "inside work" such as cooking, cleaning and washing by Nepalis. Women who do not have to do "outside work" have a higher status than those who are required to do it.

29. Twenty-seven percent (N:5) of RETT pass respondents reported that they listened to the broadcasts regularly, fifty-six percent (N:10) reported they occasionally listened to the broadcasts, and sixteen percent (N:3) said they very rarely or never listened to the broadcasts. The women who occasionally or never listened to RETT broadcasts, reported that they passed the course by relying on the self-instructional materials (SIMS) and monthly Resource Center meetings.

Only one respondent from the RETT dropout subsample reported that she listened to RETT on a regular basis, twenty-five percent (N:2) reported they occasionally listened to the broadcasts and sixty-three percent (N:5) said they very rarely or never listened. Among fail sub-sample respondents, a similar pattern was evident. One respondent (seventeen percent) reported that she regularly listened to RETT, sixty-six percent (N:4) said they occasionally listened and one respondent (seventeen percent) said she never listened.

30. The case supports research findings from India (Blumberg & Dwarika, 1980; Liddle & Joshi, 1986) that show a women's profession can be a valuable commodity on the marriage market. In this case, Mira was able to negotiate some aspects of her domestic responsibilities (she would not work outside) and some aspects of her professional life (teaching but not training).

31. It should be noted that an assessment of program quality was not a goal of the study. Instead, respondent perceptions about the program were collected to indicate elements of the program related to female participation in it.

32. After 7:30 p.m. the rate doubles to Rs.9,000 (US \$100) per half hour.

33. According to one survey, this would be between 7 - 8 p.m.(USAID, 1974, p. 44).

34. In a study by Campbell et.al, (1979), the author identified a large degree of non-sampling error in surveys conducted in Nepal. Errors were due to several factors according to the authors, including respondent reluctance to give correct information, fear of negative consequences, culturally defined sensitivity of topics and the contextual bias inherent in the social setting of the interview. The authors state: "Considerably more accurate, reliable and useful information can be obtained in rural Nepal through application of culturally, sociolinguistically and epistemologically appropriate methods. . . such as unstructured interviewing, participant observation and the use of written documents and case studies."

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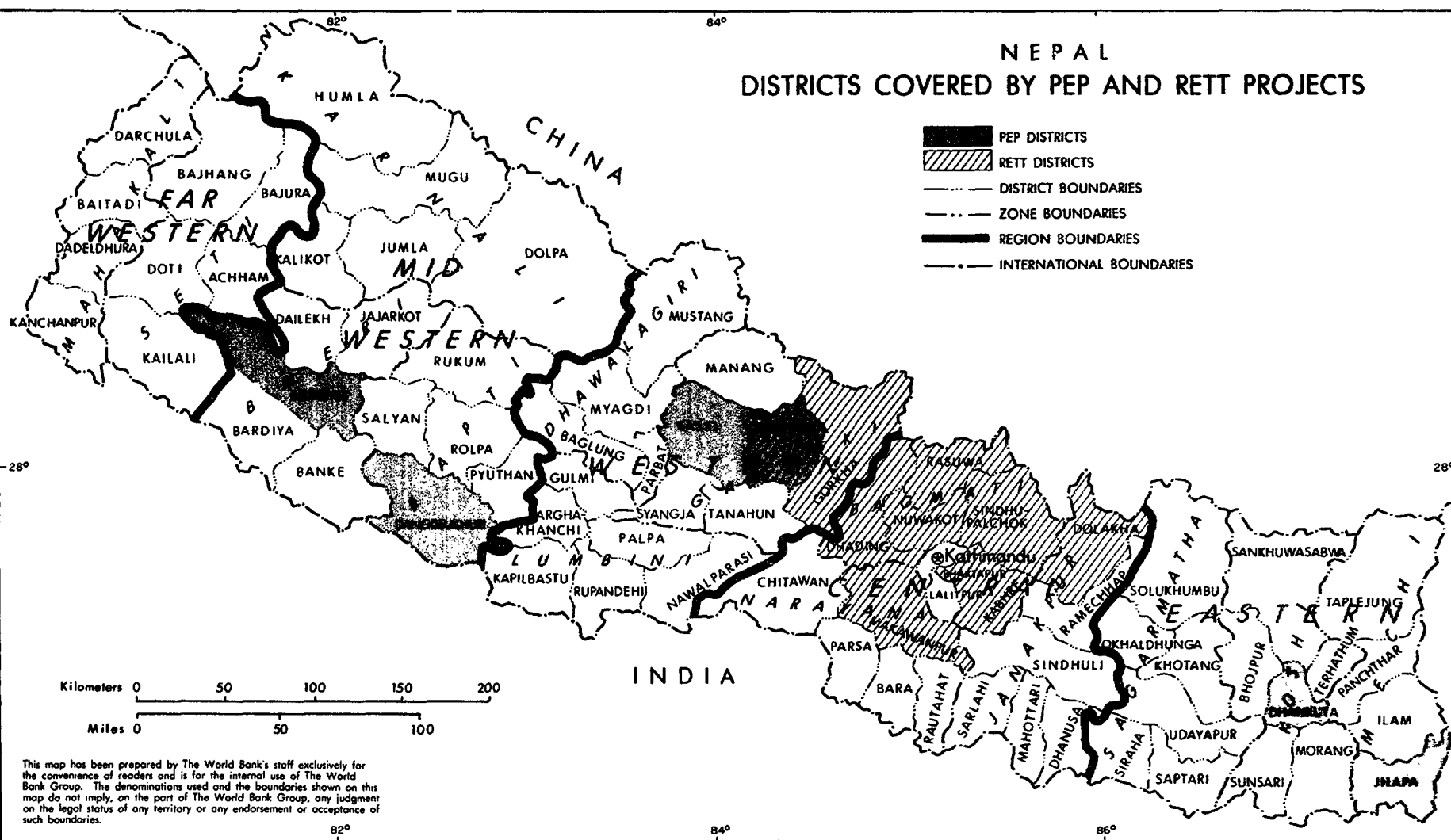
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